

WHY SUCCESSFUL WOMEN WANT TO VOTE



Mrs. Mollie S. Orenstein



Dr. Katherine B. Davis



Miss Lillian B. Wald



Mrs. Jean H. Norris



Miss Julia Lathrop



Mrs. Jessica F. Cosgrave



Dr. S. Josephine Baker

Having Achieved Notably, They Write For The Tribune Why the Ballot Would Have Aided, and Can Now Help Them to Do the Things They Stand For in the Community.

"WHY vote?" is the question pacificators invariably urge upon strenuous advocates for woman suffrage, and then they inevitably follow with, "especially now that women have as much power and can do as many things of legislative, philanthropic and social concern without that bit of legal formality." And then examples of women who have surged forward, past all obstacle of precedent and custom, are brought forward as bearing out this form of argument.

Among the names of women brought forward as having accomplished without the ballot are those of Miss Julia Lathrop and Dr. Katharine Davis. However, these women, who have achieved in their respective callings, feel that in many instances the way would have been much easier for them had they had the voting power, and, realizing the handicap they as well as the things they stand for endured without it, and the necessarily slow progress of the things they stand for in the community without this weapon, they in these columns explain why they ask for it for the individual reason of their particular cause.

As Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, Miss Lathrop has gained international renown. The research work done by this new bureau under her direction has been a signal contribution to the knowledge of the relation of women and children to labor.

By JULIA C. LATHROP.

"WHY should humane persons seek the ballot for women instead of seeking to serve immediately such ends as child welfare?"

Whoever asks that question confuses a means with an end. Child welfare is an end. The real question is whether the ballot in the hands of women will serve child welfare. The child who concentrates the interest of his parents. His care and protection depend on their joint labor. Their interest in him is joint and equal. Yet their means of expressing that interest by legal action are unequal, and the great inequality at present is that only men are able to dictate by the suffrage the physical and moral surroundings under which the child lives, the type of education which shall be given him, the moral purity or hazard of the atmosphere which surrounds his home.

Men will not claim that this power has been utilized with complete success. No woman, however good and wise a mother, can safeguard her child physically and morally against the indifference or greed of the community in which she lives. I would by no means say that the mother is more responsible for the welfare of her children than is her father, but the exigencies of life compel her to be more intimately concerned, and it seems fair to believe that the wisdom of good women, which is admitted to be of paramount service within their homes, would be no less valuable if applied to the joint welfare of all the homes in the community in the only authoritative manner possible—by the exercise of the suffrage.

All the better of a community, the conditions under which things are produced, from milk to knee pants; the purity of the water, the effectiveness of garbage disposal, the safety of streets and the cleanliness of streets, the inspection service, the plumbing inspector, the factory inspector, the building inspector, the medical inspector and the visiting nurse, the amusements of a town and their in-

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By LILLIAN D. WALD.

YEARS ago, before I had had any experience in community work, like many other young people, I believed that politics concerned itself with matters outside the realm and experience of women, and I accepted the conventional dictum that responsibility in political action and knowledge to guide the government were exclusively inherent in men.

I very soon learned for myself that public affairs, political and governmental, were concerned with social matters upon which women had experience and convictions. Later I realized that many forms of social activity, affecting the welfare of children, the condition of the homes, employment, health matters, hospitals, infant mortality, etc., were to a large extent created, organized and administered by women, but that when those matters came under municipal or state control women ceased to have authority over them, or, indeed, any share in their control, since the vote influenced the choice of the administrators, the methods of administration and the amount of the appropriations for carrying them out. Measures for social welfare, which society agreed were of paramount importance to the homemakers of the nation, ceased altogether to be their affair.

spection, the schools; in short, taxes and their expenditure are matters which, whether the woman at the head of a household knows it or not, intimately affect the health and safety of her family.

Nor is there any doubt how women will on the whole vote on these matters. An enlightened self-interest can be trusted to dictate the way in which women will vote on such points. They will vote for pure foods, for city cleanliness, for removing moral pitfalls from the paths of children. As rapidly as possible they will vote out those forms of excess tolerated by the community, but fatal to the peace and decency of a family. If the new voting class were to be made up of people to whom these considerations are merely academic it would not be possible to prophesy with certainty as to how they would vote. But on those questions which affect life and family decency it is inconceivable that women will knowingly vote against self-interest and the interests of their children.

It is obvious that certain evils which now loom large on our horizon are manageable and removable. This is especially true of infant mortality, child labor and illiteracy. As a prudent father strives to turn over his estate unencumbered to his children, so we of this generation should strive to turn the world over to our successors unencumbered of these three cruel burdens. Posterity will have questions enough after we have done all we can—questions too grave and subtle for us. But such as these are within our powers if all the adult individuals in the country can be informed and made responsible, and in no way save through the ballot can this be done—for all three of these evils must be eradicated in large measure by laws and their enforcement.

All that unaided, unrelated mother's love can do has been done. The three evils I have named are examples of its pitiful limitations. Do the mothers of the million and more children who cannot read and write lack maternal affection? Do mothers fail in love because their children work too soon, too hard? Do the mothers of the 300,000 babies who will die this year in the United States love their children less than the mothers of the 2,000,000-odd who will survive?

To many of us it is profoundly reasonable that those who look at the welfare of the race with a long view should now be urging the ballot for women as the next expedient.

politically speaking, and the opinion of women received little or no attention.

I believe that women have something to contribute to the government that men have not, as men have something to contribute that women have not; that their traditions and their experiences, combined, will make for a more perfect understanding of community needs. This is an expansion of the ideal family control. Women have been told that they can gain their wishes by influence, using their power over some man or men. Dignified women do not wish to be a part of an invisible form of government. They wish to speak directly and openly, and then consider this a more respectful recognition of their influence. They wish to take their share in the responsibility of society and to give back what has been given to them.

Many women have worked faithfully for better conditions through philanthropic societies, through social settlements and in other ways, wielding their power in such measure and in such ways as have been open for them. They believe that they can do more, and they also believe that society will be the gainer when the enormous numbers of women who now have no opportunity at all for expression are given this through the ballot.

In addition to what seems to me the advisability of completing and perfecting the government by making men and women share its responsibility, the inevitability of the extension of the suffrage makes objection seem futile. The whole force of evolution

is behind it. Women are going into public life whether they wish to or not. They have gone into factories, into the professions, they are serving on public committees, they are proposing and even framing legislation. The movement is far greater than the demand for the ballot, and seems to be a force irresistible, one that cannot be swept back.

As principal of the well-known Finch School, Mrs. Cosgrave has made many new departures in the direction of a more liberal education for women. It has been her life's business to study girls and young women as they affect woman suffrage, and she gives the result of her observations here.

By JESSICA FINCH COSGRAVE.

WHILE the consideration of suffrage in a school for young girls is confined to a presentation of both sides of the subject in connection with the study of current events, it has been interesting to see the type of girl who responds to the idea of the enlargement of her opportunities and responsibilities in civic matters, not with the facile enthusiasm of the partisan, but as a part of the general development of her powers and as an enlargement of her sphere of usefulness.

While I by no means find this distinction true of my older friends, it is surprising that almost invariably it is the girl who does not wish to take responsibility and who clings to privileges that she has not earned who remains wholly untouched by this movement, and it is the girl who expects to do her full part, whether in the care of the home and the wise expenditure of the income or in some other work which she has been trained to do faithfully and well, who feels that the extension of these activities to the larger municipal household and to include the big social and economic questions that form the whole fabric of modern political life is a natural one.

An understanding of the principles of economics and sociology and of the history of democracy means not a selfish feverish grasping of new opportunities before old ones have been

fully assumed, but a natural extension of a lively and interest toward all the problems, personal and social, which are closely interwoven with the problems of the state.

Before I became an educator my interest in suffrage remained merely an intellectual conviction that it was an inevitable outcome of social and political tendencies, but since I have watched the development of scores of girls year after year, not so much during their school days, which are naturally occupied with more immediate and personal duties, but as they go on in life afterward, and have seen the difference between the type that is touched to enthusiasm by what she regards as a call to service and the type that remains intent upon personal gratification and privilege, I repeat that this distinction applies only to the younger women, who in these days are under the necessity of forming their opinion on the suffrage question at the time when they are settling their general attitude toward life, and has made me an ardent believer in the awakening of women, which is not, as I believe, to take them away from their older and divinely appointed duties, but to infuse a larger spirit of understanding and of responsibility into whatever they may undertake.

Mrs. Norris writes from the standpoint of a successful practicing woman lawyer. She is a woman of radical leanings. She has been special counsel for the corporations and attorneys in federal, state and city tax matters and in general practice, and is a writer on subjects of legal importance.

By JEAN H. NORRIS.

THE Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution provides that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside."

While this clause advances women to full citizenship and clothes them with the capacity to become voters, it is not self-executing. The capability of becoming a voter created by the amendment lies dormant until made

effective by state legislative action.

Susan B. Anthony, acting upon the assumption that the Fourteenth Amendment gave an immediate right to vote, cast her ballot at a Congressional election; she was indicted by a federal grand jury on the ground of illegal voting, and, there being no dispute as to her sex or the fact of her having voted, the court instructed the jury to find her guilty.

The question has often been asked whether the women who are striving to gain equal voting rights in New York State would be willing to relinquish the so-called privileges which custom, courtesy and statute law have accorded to them in a greater degree than enjoyed by men. We are told by our lawmakers and politicians that woman's gain in political and economic prestige might be counterbalanced by a considerable loss in legal rights if the franchise were granted. There is little basis of truth in this assertion, as there are too many discriminations against women on our statute books.

Dower is the one discrimination in favor of women to which all anti-suffragists point with great pride, yet the dower right of a widow whose husband dies without leaving a will, entitles her only to the income of one-third of his real estate during her life. This does not give her a fee in any portion of the property. She is simply a life tenant. As to the wife's real estate, if she dies without leaving a will, and out of the marriage a child has been born alive, then the husband has an advantage, as he gets what is termed courtesy rights, a life estate in all of his wife's real property.

The fact that women were regarded as an inferior sex accounted for the attitude of the non-professional mind toward the pioneer woman lawyer. This made it extremely difficult for her to inspire clients with confidence in her legal capacity. As time has gone on the woman lawyer has demonstrated her ability, and to-day her work, although performed under political disabilities, is becoming recognized and appreciated. Yet she cannot aspire to the highest place in her profession. She cannot be a judge. Nor can she have a voice in the making of those laws which she is called upon to interpret and enforce. These reasons alone make equal suffrage for the woman lawyer a real necessity.

ARE WOMEN PEOPLE?

By ALICE DUER MILLER

CITY-MOTHERS?

Does it show a distorted sense of humor to be amused over the fact that the first three organizations invited by Mayor Mitchell to confer about plans for "baby week" are the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' Association and the Advertising Men's League?

THE BRAVER NORTH.

It was a wonderful and inspiring sight to women from greater New York to see Mayor Will of Syracuse welcoming suffragists without apparent doubt, hesitation or pain.

The Latin man believes that giving woman the vote will make her less attractive.—Anna H. Shaw: Speech at Rome.

They must sacrifice their beauty

Who would do their civic duty,
Who the polling booth would enter,
Who the ballot box would use;
As they drop their ballots in it,
Men and women in a minute
Lose their charm, the ants tell us,
But—the men have less to lose.

SACRED MILITIA-HOOD.

"It is gratifying to note," says a letter in "The Times," "the patriotic spirit which prompted the Board of Aldermen to pass the bill granting leaves of absence with full pay to all municipal employees who may enlist for service in Mexico."

It would be gratifying to some of us if the Board of Education would show similar patriotism toward those employees who do not kill the enemy but who do bear the soldier.

LOWER PAY FOR BETTER WORK.

In the recent metropolitan contest in typewriting the first fourteen places were taken by women, with the exception of the fourth place, which went to a man.

Yet for typewriters the national government continues to offer \$720 to a woman and \$900 to a man for the same position.

AS IT IS, IT DOESN'T SEEM TO PROVE ANYTHING.

The birth rate in Germany has declined seven points in eleven years.

If Germany were a woman suffrage country this would prove that women ought not to vote.

WHICH DOES HE REALLY BELIEVE?

In speaking of politics in connection with tolls repeal Senator Root says:

"It is the conduct of our nation in conformity with the highest principles of ethics and the highest dictates of that religion which aims to make the men of all the races of the earth brothers in the end."

But in speaking of it in connection with woman suffrage he says: "Politics is modified war."

MAN'S ELOQUENCE TO MAN.

"Who are the guardians of a nation's honor but her own sons?"

Some of us, Senator, would have added: "And daughters."

"Woman's duties are domestic, but man has been wrong from time immemorial in forcing her to keep her place. Set her free, and she will come back and do voluntarily and as an equal the same work which she used to do as a slave and a drudge."—Count Tolstol.

INDIRECT INFLUENCE.

"When the women's clubs of San Francisco undertook to bring Mrs. Amelia Graham from Chicago to act as a police officer, the city authorities made the condition that she should not go near the segregated district."—The Dallas Laborer.

Logically, of course, there is no excuse for drawing the sex line in the punishment of murderers.—N. Y. Times, May 27.

Bonaparte—Why do you meddle in politics, Madame? Madame de Staël—Sire, when women have their heads cut off it is but just they should know the reason why.

BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW.

"Educate your politician," Dr. Williams of Johns Hopkins said recently to an audience of Boston women, "and impress on him that the lives of babies and women are of more importance than those of cattle and hogs."

The only way we know of educating politicians is by voting for or against them.

O woman, in our hours of ease
We did not always strive to please;
But what a difference you will note
As soon as you obtain the vote.

The first woman Commissioner of Correction New York has ever had, her conduct in office is being watched the world over. So far she has shown singular ability. She attracted international attention by her work as Superintendent of the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford.

By KATHARINE BEMENT DAVIS.

SOMETHING less than one hundred years ago Elizabeth Fry, a young English woman of culture belonging to the Society of Friends, began work in the prison of Newgate which was far in advance of her time. Many of the measures which she advocated as a result of the conditions which she found among prisoners, and especially among the women prisoners, have only lately been realized. Some of the conditions against which she struggled are still to be found among the prisoners of her country and of the United States.

Supervision of women by men, lack of classification and idleness are still to be found in prisons all over the land. Prison reform has always been a subject which appeals to women. The Women's Prison Association of New York is an example of what has been accomplished by women without the vote. After a hard struggle they succeeded in establishing the State Reformatory at Bedford. For three years in succession bills for the establishment of this reformatory were introduced in the Legislature at Albany and were rejected. It was only when Mrs. Abby Hopper Gibbons, then more than ninety years old, travelled to Albany and appeared before a joint committee that the measure was carried.

The womanliness and personal charm, the courage and motherliness of this venerable lady won all hearts and carried through the bill. This has been the traditional method by which women have won the measures which they advocate.

To-day in our own Workhouse in New York we have crowded together women old and young, diseased and well, first offenders and those steeped

Director of the Bureau of Child Hygiene, Department of Health, Dr. Baker organized the first division of child hygiene under municipal control, and until Dr. Davis's advent as Commissioner of Correction was the only woman who held an executive position in the New York City government.

By S. JOSEPHINE BAKER.

TO those of us who are familiar with conditions in the more crowded parts of the city there is one fact that stands out clearly, and that is that the dreaded so-called "ignorant vote" which the anti-suffragists tell us will come in overwhelming numbers if we admit all women to the franchise is, in reality, not an ignorant vote at all.

It has always seemed to me that woman's attitude toward community life, if she had a vote, would still be that of the housekeeper and the homemaker. The women in our tenement sections are essentially of this type. They are the most helpless victims of any unsanitary surroundings or unhygienic conditions of the home.

They know the lack of recreation facilities for the children and the general conditions of city life which react most seriously upon the child. So, from the point of view of the homemaker, the

Mrs. Orenstein, a master of arts from Columbia University, has been for three years a factory inspector of the Department of Labor, State of New York. She is also a worker on the New York State Factory Investigating Committee.

By MARIE S. ORENSTEIN.

IN 1890 a startling and bitterly fought campaign was carried on in this state for the appointment of women factory inspectors. It was believed by a group of women—the Working Women's Association, together with a number of individual women interested in philanthropic work—that it was impossible for male inspectors to discover or remedy abuses and indignities to which women in industry were apparently subjected.

These women secured legal provision for female inspectors, much to the dismay of the Chief Factory Inspector, who declared that women deputies would disorganize his department. Despite his opposition to women deputies, a year's trial forced him to acknowledge in his report that their work had proven, in the main, satisfactory. The number of women inspectors

in crime. They live under unsanitary conditions, they have no outdoor exercise. They have no industrial training, and it is a question whether they are not worse when they have completed their term in the Workhouse than they were before. I do not wish to allege that I believe none of these conditions would exist if women had suffrage. I do believe, however, that women, whether they belong to the leisure class, to the great body of self-supporting women or even to those lower down in the social scale, would be more readily roused to action in the direction of reforms than an equal number of men. Perhaps this would be because of their newness to the political situation and of their nearness to the appeal of human problems on which their interest is likely to centre at first.

We need not only the intelligent interest of women but the backing of the ballot to secure immediate results. Had we all the charm of Barrie's Leonora we should only need to appear before the Board of Estimate or the Board of Aldermen. Unfortunately, Leonora is only one in a thousand, but put the ballot into the hands of the ordinary woman and she has a weapon far more powerful than charm.

In the last analysis it is public opinion which counts. I do not believe the ballot for women is going to bring about the millennium. It has not come in the United States through all our years of democracy, and "God Almighty" made the women to match the men." But we cannot afford to ignore the woman's point of view. With the ballot in the hands of women we have double the number and more than double the variety of the material on which to draw.

There is no special way in which I believe that suffrage for women will help the cause of prison reform in greater measure than in matters of health, and in assisting the upward trend of affairs in civic matters generally. But I believe that the women's vote will be the tool which will hasten the day when penal institutions can be a matter of pride, rather than a reproach to our citizens.

average woman of this city is as well fitted to record her opinion as to the kind of government the city requires as is the average man.

I believe that giving the vote to the women of this city will result in greater permanency for the reforms that are so greatly needed in the great questions of housing, sanitation and hygiene; that the women of this city are, after all, much the same type as the women throughout the country; and this attitude of mind in regard to the community's needs for the care of children applies to all women. Their desire for definite expression in regard to the needs of community life is an entirely legitimate one. Their part in government would supplement and not supplant that of the men.

Men and women are essentially different, and it is because of this difference that the point of view of each should be registered in government. There should be an expression of opinion from every part of a citizenship that is governed. This is the essential basis of a democracy.

Motherhood needs an expression greater than that involved in bearing a child. Some of the women suffragists have a slogan which seems to me to express this need of women. It is: "We give the children to the world; why not let us help to prepare the world for the children?"

has been increased to twenty-five in subsequent years. This fact in itself proves beyond question that the state recognizes a very distinct need in its service for these women.

With laws passed especially for the protection of women and with women inspectors to enforce them, where is the need for suffrage? In this: However conscientious the work of the women inspectors, these laws and their enforcement have been determined by the votes of men, not women.

As for women inspectors their situation is indeed anomalous. Male civil service employees must be citizens and able to vote in order to qualify for state work. With men the privilege of voting is a prerequisite to employment by the state, but a subversion of logic denies women the privilege of voting, even though they serve the state.

Though the work of the woman factory inspector has been and is being accomplished without a voice in the government, yet with the enfranchisement of women will come an added dignity and effectiveness to her calling, for as a woman she will be an articulate employee, and as a representative of women she will be a responsible servant, empowered by those she serves.